

## Message Text

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TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 AEC-11 IO-14 OIC-04 OMB-01

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5020

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3854

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1863

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: NATO WORK PROGRAM ON GUIDANCE TO AD HOC GROUP

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: USNATO 1798 (NOTAL)

1. AS MENTIONED REFTTEL, NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF HAS PREPARED A CHECKLIST ON LINKAGE BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND PHASES OF MBFR. FULL TEXT BELOW. MISSION FINDS DOCUMENT A REASONABLE BASIS FOR PROCEEDING WITH CONSULTATIONS ON LINKAGE AND PLANS TO ACCEPT IT AT APRIL 8 SPC MEETING. ACTION REQUESTED: TO ENABLE MISSION TO BE RESPONSIVE TO AD HOC GROUP'S REQUESTS FOR GUIDANCE TO THE COUNCIL (VIENNA 2829), REQUEST WASHINGTON GUIDANCE ON QUESTIONS AND POINTS RAISED IN IS CHECKLIST.

2. BEGIN TEXT

ISSUES RELATED TO THE LINK BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND

PHASES OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS (1)

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BEGIN FOOTNOTE:

(1) THE TERM "PHASE", AS USED HERE, HAS THE AGREED C-M(73)83 MEANING OF "A MAJOR NEGOTIATING PERIOD RESULTING IN AN MBFR

AGREEMENT (E.G., THE FIRST PHASE WITH REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET  
AND US FORCES)".  
END FOOTNOTE.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

(A) THE CONCEPT OF THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS IS  
CONTAINED IN C-M(73)83(FINAL), PARA 34, WHICH STATES IN PART:

"THE ALLIES WILL NEGOTIATE FOR INCLUSION IN A  
FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT OF LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR A  
SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS AND FOR AGREEMENT TO  
THE CONCEPT OF A COMMON MANPOWER CEILING FOR NATO  
AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES IN THE NATO  
GUIDELINES AREA ... THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK FURTHER  
REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE SECOND PHASE ...  
ALTHOUGH ALLIED DECISIONS ON THE SECOND PHASE  
SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR FURTHER EXAMINATION AND  
REFLECTION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, THIS SECOND PHASE  
SHOULD ON THE WESTERN SIDE FOCUS ON REDUCTIONS OF  
NON-NUS NATO FORCES ..."

(B) THE CONCEPT OF A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME IS SET OUT IN  
AGV(74)3, OF 24TH JANUARY, 1974, PARA 5, WHICH SAYS  
IN PART:

"THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES ... COULD STATE THEIR  
VIEW THAT SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS COULD START  
'WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME' AFTER THE  
CONCLUSION OF A SATISFACTORY PHASE ONE AGREEMENT  
BASED ON ALLIED PROPOSALS, INCLUDING AGREEMENT ON  
THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT."

(C) THE FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS WHICH THE WARSAW PACT  
COUNTRIES MUST MEET BEFORE THE ALLIES WOULD GIVE  
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THEM FURTHER ASSURANCES REGARDING THE LINK ARE  
IMPLICIT IN C-M(73)83(FINAL) - SEE (A) ABOVE -  
AND ARE MENTIONED IN THE RECORD OF THE INFORMAL  
SESSION WITH EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ON 7TH MARCH, 1974  
(VX/74/170/2). THESE CONDITIONS ARE:

(I) EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE TWO PHASE CONCEPT.

(II) EASTERN AGREEMENT TO THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT.

## II. THE FIXING OF THE PERIOD OF TIME BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES

(A) DEGREE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT  
REQUIRED PRIOR TO BEGINNING OF SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS.

(I) SIGNATURE OF THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT?  
(NO IMPLEMENTATION);

(II) SIGNATURE PLUS RATIFICATION BY NATO GOVERNMENTS OF  
THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT? (NO IMPLEMENTATION);

(III) PARTIAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FIRST PHASE  
AGREEMENT?

(IV) FULL IMPLEMENTATION, ADEQUATELY VERIFIED, OF THE  
FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT?

(V) FULL IMPLEMENTATION, ADEQUATELY VERIFIED, OF THE  
FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT FOLLOWED BY A FIXED TRIAL  
PERIOD?

(B) TIME REQUIRED FOR WITHDRAWALS.

(I) WHAT MILITARY/TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS WILL  
INFLUENCE THE TIME REQUIRED?

(REF: AC/276-WP(74)4(REVISED))

(II) WHAT POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WILL FINALLY DETERMINE  
THE AMOUNT OF TIME REQUIRED FOR WITHDRAWALS?

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(C) WHAT SHOULD THE LENGTH OF THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" BE?

(D) HOW COULD THE "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME" BEST BE EXPRESSED  
IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT?

III. NON-INCREASE OF FORCES AGREEMENT

(A) WOULD GROUND FORCES OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANT NATIONS  
BE INCLUDED? WOULD THEIR EQUIPMENT? WOULD FORCES  
IN HUNGARY BE INCLUDED?

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1863

(B) WOULD THE LIMITATION BE GLOBAL ON EACH SIDE? (IN ANY CASE, THERE WOULD OF COURSE BE AGREEMENT TO RESPECT THE US AND SOVIET FORCE LEVELS ESTABLISHED BY A FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT.)

(C) TIMING OF IMPLEMENTATION: PRIOR TO FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT, SIMULTANEOUS WITH IT, OR FOLLOWING IT?

(D) NATURE OF AGREEMENT.

(I) UNILATERAL DECLARATION?

(II) JOINT EAST-WEST DECLARATION?

(III) PROVISION OF FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT?

(IV) SEPARATE AGREEMENT?

(E) TIME LIMITATION.

(I) HOW LONG WOULD AGREEMENT BE IN FORCE?  
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(II) TERMINATION PROVISION?

(F) WESTERN REQUIREMENTS.

(I) EXCEPTIONS FOR EXERCISE PURPOSES AND ROTATIONS.

(II) FREEDOM TO MAKE QUALITATIVE FORCE IMPROVEMENTS.

IV. ASSURANCES TO OTHER SIDE REGARDING SECOND PHASE

(A) COMMITMENT OF ALL OR SOME DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO TAKE PART IN FORCE REDUCTIONS? TO PARTICIPATE IN A NON-INCREASE OF FORCES AGREEMENT?

(B) IN RETURN FOR SUCH ASSURANCES, WOULD THE WEST SEEK A COMMITMENT BY THE USSR TO WITHDRAW ADDITIONAL SOVIET FORCES IN A SECOND PHASE?

(C) ARE THERE ACCEPTABLE WAYS OF PROVIDING THE EAST WITH  
SOME ASSURANCES AGAINST A NEGATIVE OUTCOME OF SECOND  
PHASE NEGOTIATIONS, E.G., BY:

(I) LIMITATION OF DURATION OF FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT?

(II) DEFERMENT OF COMPLETION OF FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT?

V. EASTERN VIEWS

(A) TO WHAT EXTENT SHOULD EASTERN VIEWS AND PROPOSALS BE  
TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT DURING ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION  
OF "LINK" ISSUES?

END TEXT  
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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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